

# TRADITIONAL MAORI PARENTING

An Historical Review of Literature of Traditional Maori Child

Rearing Practices in Pre-European Times



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## **Karakia Whakatuwheratanga**

Toitu te rangi

Toitu te whenua

Toitu te aroha o te Atua

Toitu ona manaakitanga katoa

Mauriora e Te Ariki

Matua, Tama, Wairua Tapu.

Amine.

## Whakapuakitanga/Foreword

When I read these research findings I immediately think of the opening stanza of the Ode to Immortality, by William Wordsworth:

The child is but father of the man,

And I could wish my days to be

In such natural piety.

We cannot turn back the clock but we can redeem the present by looking to the past; and glean from it lessons that might give us all a better sense of what is possible in the arena of parenting. The research done by my whanaunga and colleagues captures images that we could well emulate as we struggle to find answers to an ever increasing circle of seemingly unstoppable violence to our children. The history revealed tells us it is possible, all we need is the will to achieve.

One of our tasks as Te Kahui Mana Ririki has been to dig deep into our own reo and mine the riches that are there – and from them espouse a philosophy that engenders hope and confidence. What we present here is not definitive but it is hoped that others might add further to what we have begun.

I would like to thank the Office of the Children’s Commissioner for funding this research and supporting the development – and helping to rejuvenate – Maori practices that have relevance today. These values have the power to help us parent in a way that supports our children to reach their full potential.

Dr Hone Kaa.  
Chair,  
Te Kahui Mana Ririki.

## **Message from the Children's Commissioner**

I welcome this historical review of the literature on Maori parenting practices in pre-European times.

It was conceived in discussions with leaders of Te Kahui Mana Ririki on the different and varied beliefs and practices about children, childhood and parenting that helped to shape contemporary New Zealand views. We thought it would be useful to document the Maori heritage of parenting practices.

What we have received in this brief report is a rich and well-referenced picture of pre-European practice amongst Maori. I hope it will provide, as Dr Hone Kaa writes here, an impetus for all New Zealanders to learn from this heritage how children might be treated with love and respect.

I join in thanking the authors for their work.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'John Angus', written in a cursive style.

Dr John Angus  
Children's Commissioner  
March 2011

## **He Whakamihi/Acknowledgements**

We wish to thank the kuia, kaumatua and health providers who helped with this literature review.

We thank the Office of Children's Commissioner for the opportunity to conduct this review project.

### **Peer reviews**

#### **Dr Khyla Russell, Otago Polytech. July 2010**

From the outset the document is tuturu in its representation as well as its presentation to the reader. The first section is nicely wrapped up into a neat package on page six where the reviewers' interpretations are clear, informative and fit with aspects with which this reader is familiar as well as many which, as a reader I am enjoying as presented in a new way. In some instances the descriptions are new to my understandings.

Tikanga Whakatipu Ririki parenting model was developed by Helen Harte arising out of the purakau and waiata. She and Jenkins have written a seminal piece of work whose conclusion on p 28 more succinctly than I, has summed up the state of our tamariki mokopuna who are victims of abuse.

The models and guides on good parenting are clear, easy to follow whilst still being crafted and couched in academic terms in a manner that makes this one of the best and most informative annotated reviews I have read. It has been a delight and pleasure to comment on.

He mihi nunui ki a kōrua mo tou kōrua tuhika hohonu.

#### **Robert M Newsome BMS, Lecturer in Maori Spirituality and Theology. August 2010.**

In beginning with karakia, and the acknowledgement of Tupuna and "nga taonga tuku iho" the review sets the right "wairua" in place.

Maori mythology and traditions provide myth messages to which Maori people can and will respond today. Atua and persons, both male and female are shown in their roles, and with tupuna stories, offer directions for behaviour.

The authors are commended for an in depth literature review. I recommend the Tikanga Whakatipu Ririki parenting model for Maori parents today.

**Dr Hone Kaa, Lecturer St John's College. August 2010**

The research done by our colleagues' captures images that we could well emulate as we struggle to find answers to an ever increasing circle of seemingly unstoppable violence to our children.

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## **Whakarapopotanga/Executive abstract**

This report is based on a review of literature exploring Maori parenting practices and the philosophy supporting these practices before 1642. This knowledge can be found in the whakapapa, the tipuna (ancestral) links to the spiritual world, the purakau (oral histories), the waiata oriori (lullabies), whakatauki (proverbs), and nga korero iwi (tribal stories). In all of this literature, the tikanga (rules, custom, methods) of parenting are signposted.

The fundamental principle for raising children was the underlying belief that children were favoured as gifts from the atua (spiritual beings), from the tipuna (ancestors) and preceded those unborn, which meant that they were tapu (under special rules and restrictions). Any negativity expressed to them was breaking the tapu by offending the atua and the tipuna gone before. Because of their intrinsic relationship to these spiritual worlds, the children inherited their mana (power, prestige). They were treated with loving care (aroha) and indulgence. Punitive discipline in whatever degree, as a method of socialising children, was an anathema to the tipuna.

## **Te take o te ripoata/The purpose of the report**

The purpose of this report is to research the traditional, pre-European settlement, Maori child rearing and parenting practices, with particular reference to socialisation and discipline. The research will show how these practices might form or do form the basis for a 21st century kaupapa of parenting for Maori and potentially for other New Zealanders.

This review has revealed the Maori system of parenting and the philosophy behind it. The values of the tipuna are fundamental to any parenting today. These strengths are the base of the parenting model developed by Te Kahui Mana Ririki for use with whanau today.

This literature review is in three sections. The first section investigates the purakau for the cultural messages of child rearing contained therein. Section Two discusses the child rearing thoughts underlying child rearing and parenting in some of the traditional oral literature about birthing ceremonies and the waiata oriori. These had positive effects on children, and adults

and reinforced cultural beliefs. Section Three discusses the observations filtered through the minds of the first Europeans who saw parenting by our tupuna in some communities. The traditional parenting methods are summarised. In Section Four, the research findings, are related to the development of the parenting model, Tikanga Whakatipu Ririki. This is explained with its roots in traditional parenting. This model has been developed by Te Kahui Mana Ririki and is relevant for all New Zealand families and children. It is a set of principles for raising children. While tikanga does not denote a static set of rules, there are guides to parenting imbedded in nga taonga tuku iho (treasures handed down).

The review only scrapes the surface of the huge wealth of knowledge contained in the taonga of our ancestors and lays a whariki (mat) for others to follow and to develop in depth. This would involve looking at unread documents written by tupuna, and studying recordings in te reo, written and oral, in the archives, libraries and iwi collections. Some excellent work has been done but there is still so much more to do.

### **Effects of the tupuna on the primal whanau**

The whanau (extended family) believed in their atua and tupuna stories as directions for behaviour. These are relevant today but they need unravelling because the stories of the children, women and whanau are found behind and around the heroic stories of males; who apparently single-handedly produced the cosmos. Love and commitment were the fundamental messages of primal whanau Rangiui (Sky Father) and Papatuanuku (Earth Mother) as parents. Even in their unwanted separation, they did not reprimand their children. The parents and children even made helpful suggestions each to the other. From this, children fought for the space to grow. The resolution of whanau disputes was based on negotiation and discussion and the consequences of anger were born.

From the roles of the primal whanau and their child rearing, mothers were not necessarily the caregivers. In the cosmic whanau (the extended primal whanau) the characters are portrayed as heroes in a world of people who are part mortal, part atua. These include Hineahuone (cosmic earth-formed woman) and Tane (a child of the primal whanau) who produced Hinetitama (Dawn Woman).

### **Hinetitama as a whanau anchor.**

Hinetitama was the granddaughter of Papatuanuku and daughter of Hineahuone (she is part atua and part human). She was, and is, an influential example to women as she told Tane that incest was not acceptable and she moved away from his controlling influence over her own life. She and her grandmother Papatuanuku must have worked this out as she [Papatuanuku] told Tane that much trouble would result for their whanau if he persisted in his incest. She invited both Hinetitama and Hineahuone to remain with her in her earthly domain. Hinetitama assumed the role Hine-nui-te-po described in Western terms as the Underworld but the Po does not translate as an underworld place. The Po could just as easily be out in space in the void where Ranginui remains suspended.

### **Maui as a whanau figure.**

Maui was one of the atua tane (male spiritual beings) who had a son by Rohe called Rangihore. We hear of his heroic, cosmic deeds that were daring and spectacular which tend to hide his fatherly roles. Yet Rohe left Maui to care for their son. She knew his brothers and their whanau would assist Maui to care for them. We know Maui had many wives who are all said to have grumbled a lot. His parental skills were questionable and the fulfilment of his whanau obligations were haphazard. However, his enterprising spirit and bold confidence that emerged out of the atua in him made his older brothers and whanau support him because they saw he had that x-factor that made him more than human. He died the only time that he did not pay the atua their due when he attempted to kill Hine-nui-te-po.

### **A template is created for the human world.**

All of these cosmic primal lessons transferred as a template for the socialisation of humans. In the human world, from conception the child was welcomed at birth with four ceremonial birth rites which sealed the baby's special place in the whanau and hapu. Throughout their pre-birth, baby and childhoods, and the rest of their lives, children heard oriori (lullabies) which repeated the messages confirming how tapu they were, in the most beautiful language. Whakatauki reinforced the messages cryptically.

Such positive sounds and treatment surrounded the children from conception instilling in them love, security, inquisitiveness and confidence. They had the freedom to fearlessly see and learn about all parts of whanau and hapu life. They learned in the wananga (schools) and they participated in games and pastimes designed to produce fitness, agility, and quick responses. They became observant, curious, thoughtful and adept adults able to meet and deal with anything.

### **The traditional Maori whanau**

The major socialisation fact in the pre-European Maori family as reported by the earliest European observers, was the place of the nurturing warrior – the father as carer along with the mother. The whole whanau contained multiple parents in grandparents, uncles and aunts and minders in older cousins as well as siblings. All were committed to raising the children, very much in the model left from the primal whanau.

The children participated in kaumatua (elders) councils. Both men and women were of chiefly status. Children were trained to do the varied roles of adulthood – warriors, judges, food producers, artists, builders and caregivers. They witnessed all forms of cannibalism and slavery. Many slaves, however, were treated as members of whanau. All the observers commented that the children and youth were years ahead of European children and youth in all aspects of life.

## **Section 1. Literature review**

### **Parenting in the Purakau.**

Traditional Maori child rearing and parenting practices have their source and their template to guide parents in the heavens, as Ranginui Walker notes<sup>i</sup>,

Maori mythology and traditions provide myth-messages to which the Maori people can and will respond today. All that is needed is that these myth-messages be more clearly signposted. Myths are "...both a reflection of current social practice in dealing with a particular crisis and also a directive, an instruction on how to proceed.

These purakau are treasured because they link the spiritual and the physical, explaining the interwoven energies of "te kahu o te ao" (the fabric of the universe)<sup>ii</sup>. Waiata, whakapapa, purakau, whakatauki have tribal and hapu differences, as Maori Marsden has stated, "... various tribes have different traditions and do not agree in detail motivations and behaviour"<sup>iii</sup>.

The early European recordings of our purakau were from Maori men to Pakeha men. The tipuna korero, ancestral discussions, were sifted through Pakeha cultural beliefs. The collectors compared Maori with Greeks<sup>iv</sup>, for example, to define us and translated according to their cultural understandings and frameworks. We have attempted to clarify what the observers were seeing.

Men were positioned as the primary protagonists in these stories. Maori women were assigned domestic duties (like European women)<sup>v</sup>, yet their roles in the cosmos equalled the men. Women were as important, if not more important, than men in many of these critical early purakau<sup>vi</sup>.

### **Nga Matua Purakau/Parenting in the Cosmogony**

To find pre-contact parenting knowledge, the purakau have now been analysed from a different perspective. The original pantheon is considered as an interactive whanau.

## **The Primal Whakapapa.**

The whakapapa of Maori, beginning with Io, linked the ethereal, the spiritual to te ao marama (the world of light) and human descent. The atua imbued children with mana enfolding them within the embrace of the supreme beings. This mana of the children accruing from the atua tapu underpinned the beliefs our tipuna had of children, their socialisation. Thus, the cosmic creation of the universe is at the core of the whakapapa Maori. It is here that the primal family: Ranginui (the Sky father) and Papatuanuku (the Earth Mother)<sup>vii</sup> and their children, the atua, the supreme beings, and their interaction, form the template for human behaviour. So the world of the spirit was real and of enormous importance to the world of humans. The first parents and their child rearing practices were found here.

## **Nga Matua Tuatahi / The First Parents**

The beginning of Te Ao Marama led to the creation of flora, fauna and ultimately, humans. This creation came from the union of Ranginui with Papatuanuku. They produced their children, numbering six to seventy<sup>viii</sup> to 120<sup>ix</sup>. These then produced children. Uncles, aunts, cousins, siblings all lived together, reproducing incestuously, and unhappily, as the subsequent rebellion revealed. Their treatment of each other, however, was a model for humans.

The union of Ranginui and Papatuanuku was the first example of the power of tapu as a mechanism of socialisation. Ranginui broke a tapu contract with Io. He went down and united with Papatuanuku, after he had built only one of the ten heavens he was contracted to build. By breaking his contract with Io, Ranginui set in motion a chain of events and misfortunes, the primary example of the consequences of this action.

The first parental behaviour was a union of loving commitment. As husband and wife, Ranginui and Papatuanuku were a model pair and the union was fruitful. Papatuanuku was not just a mute, passive partner “lying ... belly up ...”<sup>x</sup>. She was active, thoughtful and outspoken. The two stayed together for aeons very happily, sharing decisions<sup>xi</sup>. Their farewells to each other when they separated were very respectful and loving<sup>xii</sup>. And they grieved for each other openly wailing and weeping even to the present day<sup>xiii</sup>.

They were committed to each other and to their children but even so, their children did not mature. Out of their loving embrace thus, emerged the second parental behaviour, that of

neglect. They held the children close and safe but cramped, "... in a world of darkness that inhibited the growth and development [eventually] of man"<sup>xiv</sup>. The children craved this space to grow and looked for a solution.

The children argued and debated in whanau hui (family meetings) and resolved to separate the parents, with the exception of Tawhirimatea. Conflict became endemic in family relationships. Tane led the way and Ranginui was forced back to the heavens, the consequence of the broken promise to Io.

The parents were more concerned at the loss of close embrace, than the welfare or castigation of their children. The children tried to help their parents separate more easily by appealing to them in several karakia (incantations) <sup>xv</sup>. The children and offspring knew how to behave, resolving disputes by debate together and by always treating their parents and grandparents with respect.

Caring parent-child relationships continued in the primal family after the violent act of parental separation. Tane and his siblings gave their own children to their mother and Papatuanuku became a grandmother who continued her nurturing role to her mokopuna. These children became the flora and fauna on Papatuanuku<sup>xvi</sup>. Tane then cared for Ranginui, enabling him to nurture his whanau below and provide direction with the placement of the sun, moon and stars on the father, as clothes. The parent's exclusive embrace was sacrificed but their children had transformed the universe so that their whanau were able to grow, develop and multiply.

## **Nga Wahine Atua / The Primal Female Beings**

The usual story of Hineahuone (Earth formed woman) was that she was found and brought to life by Tane. They then had a daughter, Hinetitama, who had two daughters by Tane. When she found that her husband was also her father she was ashamed and it is usually said that she fled to the underworld to hide in shame.

But Hinetitama exercised her rangatiratanga (self choice) by considering her abilities and strengths and then a place where she could exercise them. She must have received her grandmother's guidance for any knowledge, because when she discovered the incest, she went immediately to Papatuanuku, her grandmother, for advice. And from there she went in to the depths of Rarohenga out of Tane's reach. To do this required not just a powerful



intelligence but an esoteric knowledge which must have come from her grandmother and mother. Papatuanuku had already told her son Tane that incest would bring evil to him<sup>xvii</sup>. She had known where Hineahuone was hidden. Hineahuone, as mother and also the victim of Tane's incest, appeared as a passive victim but she may not have been, as her power may not have been emphasised<sup>xviii</sup>.

Papatuanuku and Hineahuone produced a daughter who was forceful, moral and decisive as evidenced by her actions. She was a model for all girls and women to emulate. Hinetitama opposed the powerful controlling influence of Tane and separated from him because of his incest. This separation must have been conceived and planned carefully between Hinetitama and Papatuanuku. She found a place to live and to use her nurturing qualities for her children. She passed by the fearsome Keeper of the Gates, Kuwatawata, and against his warning went down to the place of no return, where Tane could not enter. She told Tane to look after their children on earth knowing they would also be cared for and protected by their whanau members. He, as a husband, was duly rejected. She became the powerful Hine-nui-te-po, the carer of souls of her own, and all, children.

### **Nga Tane Atua / Men as Primal Male Beings**

Maui created new domains for human occupation using the kauae raro, the ancient worldly knowledge (the jawbone) from his grandmother. He entered the sun's cavern to force the sun to slow down using a net, which symbolised the maramataka, the calendar. He journeyed through time and space to improve the resources for human use. Maui as a son and brother is quite well documented but Maui as a father is little known.

### **Te Whanau o Maui / Maui's Whanau**

Maui's father, Makatutara or Ira-whaki, and his mother, Taranga, an atua wahine, had five sons of whom Maui was the potiki (youngest). He was born as an embryo, an abortion<sup>xix</sup>. The tohi rite, a dedicatory act which placed the infant under tapu, was performed for Maui. He was floated in a knot of his mother's hair to be cared for by the atua. In his life, he always remembered the atua and when he did not, he died.

When he was older, Maui searched for and found his mother. When she favoured him, his brothers explained why they were jealous, revealing also Taranga's mothering<sup>xx</sup>:

...[O]ur mother never asks us to sleep with her; yet we are the children she saw actually born and about whose birth there is no doubt. When we were little things she nursed us, laying us down gently on the large soft mats she had spread out for us – then why does she now not ask us to sleep with her? When we were little things she was fond enough of us, but now we are grown older she never caresses us, or treats us kindly. What do we care about our father, or our mother? Did she feed us with food till we grew up to be men? No, not a bit of it. Why, without a doubt, Rangi, or the heaven, is our father, who kindly sent his offspring down to us.

They were explaining that their mother left them during the day to forage for food from Papatuanuku, with the help of Ranginui's nourishing weather. But, what the brothers did not speak of was the kainga (village) they lived in. They did not live in a vacuum; they were surrounded by a larger whanau to help with their care giving during the day. Taranga's mothering allowed space for children to grow, but the parenting was shared by the whanau who surrounded the children. The children learned about the gifts of Ranginui and Papatuanuku through the teaching and guidance of the tuakana (older relative), matua (father, uncle), whaea (mother, aunt), and matua tipuna (grandparents).

Maui's power-filled tipuna whaea (grandmothers) were indulgent towards him as the mokopuna, so much so that the keeper of knowledge, Muri-ranga-whenua, gave her kauwae raro (lower jawbone), that is, her ancient worldly knowledge, to Maui, even though he was the youngest and such things usually went to the eldest. This enabled Maui to complete those stupendous tasks benefiting humans. His other grandmother was Mahuika, keeper of the ten sacred fires, who knew her mokopuna was tricking her yet (however grumpily and painfully) she still gave him all her finger and toenails thus sending, through Maui, fire to the world. These tipuna whaea both helped Maui to do what he wanted.

Maui, in all his deeds, always called on his brothers for help and without them he could never have completed his ventures. Such whanau teamwork was an example of whanaungatanga.

## **Hei hoa tane, matua a Maui / Maui as a husband and father.**

Maui as a parent was not so well known even though he had several wives and several children. We do know that his wives were dissatisfied with him because he was not a steady provider of food as they complained that he was lazy<sup>xxi</sup>. One fishing trip for instance ended with him landing one gigantic fish that was too big to eat - this action was an over-kill for the wives who still had no fish.

One of Maui's wives was the beautiful Rohe, sister of the sun. They had a son named Rangihore but Maui laid a spell on Rohe and swapped faces with her. As a result Rohe went to live in the darkness of the Underworld "to exact revenge on" the spirits of humans "as the ferry woman"<sup>xxii</sup>. In doing so she left behind her child to be raised by her husband and the wider whanau.

## **Hineteiwaiwa.**

Domestic violence was part of this world. The marriage of Maui's sister (or cousin) Hinaura<sup>xxiii</sup> is an example and is significant to us as she became Hine-te-iwaiwa, who is heralded as the 'patroness' accountable for establishing the powers and responsibilities of women and the domestic arts. Hinaura met, married and had a son by Tinirau. When he abused her she left only returning when he pleaded with her to do so. However, he later imprisoned Hinaura behind a fence while he lived with another woman. In response to her plea, her brother (or cousin) Maui-mua transformed into a rupe (pigeon) and rescued her.

Hinaura made the decision to move on with her life, changing her name to mark this event to Hineteiwaiwa. She left Tu-huruhuru, her son, with Tinirau in order to pacify him. Tinirau was of chiefly rank and his whanau were there to help parent their son. Indeed the baby was raised with love and care and he eventually searched for and found his mother. This story can be considered as a template for the trials of abused wives and the responsibility of brothers to look after their sisters and protect them from abusive husbands.

There are many other purakau which detail directions for humans to take but these few indicate the vast field available for future study.

## **Child rearing messages signposted from the Purakau**

The primal parents were a loving and committed couple to each other and to their children. They reluctantly learned that children need space to grow in their own way. The primal children forced space for themselves but retained respect for their parents and treated them with care. Their socialisation came, not just from their parents, but from their whanau who were cramped together in the dark with them. They learned to debate their issues, to resolve disputes and to act together and support each other. And they carried out the jobs assigned to them. They learned from Ranginui's broken promise to Io to respect the atua.

The child rearing practices of the primal whanau were used by other super beings. Other whanau were important. In pre-contact times kainga consisted of small units of 30 to 45 people<sup>xxiv</sup> or bigger<sup>xxv</sup> where everyone helped with the children and were committed to raising the next generation. Tapu and makutu (spiritual retribution should tapu be transgressed) helped control behaviour. Actions which demeaned the mana of the individual or whanau resulted in utu and muru. Thus punishing children brought retribution from the atua and the whanau. Children learned from their whanaunga and were socialised under the tuakana-teina principle. Older adults and siblings were their teachers.

## Section 2. Nga Ririki / The Children

### Te Whanautanga mai/From the Birth.

When a high ranking woman conceived, there was rejoicing in the village and community and special presents were made<sup>xxvi</sup> to mark the continuance of the aho ariki, the chiefly line<sup>xxvii</sup>. In ordinary whanau, there were less civic displays of joy. Indeed Maui could recite his brothers' names to his newly found mother because he had heard their names when he was in her womb <sup>xxviii</sup>, so the positive whanau messages were communicated to the foetus. This belief holds today. At the Hato Petera workshop conducted by Te Kahui Mana Ririki in Northcote in March, 2010, a young man said that his mother told him that she talked to him in Maori while he was in the womb and when he came out, he knew the language.

The Maori word whenua-land, is the term used for both the land and the placenta or afterbirth. Therefore, the land has the same deep significance as the placenta, which surrounds the embryo. Giving it warmth and security, a mauri, a life force that relates to and interacts with Mother earth's forces.<sup>xxix</sup>

This likeness of Papatuanuku and the placenta indicates the spiritual interaction of the two. Birth was recognised as a time of great significance as whakatauki indicate:

He puta taua ki te tane, he whanau tama ki te wahine.

The battlefield with man, childbirth with women". As an attack by a war party to a man, so is giving birth to child to a woman.

He wahine ki uta, he kahawai ki te moana.

A woman on land, a kahawai (fish) at sea"

Both are ika toto nui (fish which bleed a lot) and, in times of stress, give the same evidence thereof. This is also an indication that childbirth was considered a dangerous time for the mother and the child and not a 'natural, carefree' event.

There were, but rarely, two whare built for the birth<sup>xxx</sup>. The first, roughly built whare kahu or kakahu, was pulled down and burned immediately the baby was born. The second was the more solid whare kohanga (nesting house) where the women usually gave birth with midwives

and where the nursing of the baby took place. During the birth, the helpers chanted the same ritual chant as Hineteiwaiwa did in her birthing time, thereby including her in their lives<sup>xxxii</sup>. After the birth, there were four ceremonies which emphasised the special and tapu nature of babies, sealed the path that the child was to take and emphasised positive messages to the baby about him or her self.

## **Nga Kawa/The Rites**

### **The Tua Rite for the cutting of the cord.**

The first of these ceremonies was called the tua (the cutting of the cord). The newborn babies, both male and female, would be told in a karakia how their special abilities would enable them to carry out the expected goals in life. In this example to a boy, the word tangaengae (navel cord) is repeated at the end of each line:

Tohi ki te wai no Tu! Whana koe tangaengae, Ki te hopu tangata tangaengae, Ki te piki maunga... Me homai... Mo te tama nei... Whano koe... Kia riri ai... Kia niwha ai... Ki te patu tangata.. i te tomo pa... Ki te patu whakaara... Ki te tu parekura... Ki te mau patu.. .Ki te mau tao... Ki te mau patu kowhatu... Ki te mau taiaha... Me homai... Hei whakatapu... Mo te tama nei.

Sprinkle the water of Tu! Go thou-navel cord. To catch men-navel cord. To climb mountains ... Let these be given ... For this male child ... Proceed thou ... To become angry... To become bold ... To kill men ... To enter forts ... To slay sentries ... To stand firm in battle ... To bear spears ... To bear stone clubs ... To bear double-handed clubs ... Give these ... To strengthen growth ... For this male child.

There is also an additional list which was more peaceful and useful for kainga life:

- to produce food for thyself, to build a large house, to build a war canoe, to welcome visitors,
- to make nets, to catch fish, to net fish.

These personal and civic goals were for the growth of this male child<sup>xxxii</sup>. For the sons of the well born, then, there were the double expectations - that of being a warrior and a domestic producer. They were taught early about group and whanau responsibility.

The tua incantation for a female child showed the wishes for females:

Tohi ki te wai no Tu, Sprinkle with the water of Tu; Whano koe- tangaengae, Proceed thou- navel cord; Ki te mahi kai mau tangaengae, To prepare food for thyself ; Ki te whatu puweru, mou tangaengae, To weave garments for thyself; Ki te whatu kaitaka, mou tangaengae; To weave fine cloaks for thyself; Ki te karanga pahi tangaengae, To welcome visitors; Ki te waha wahie, mau tangaengae; To carry firewood on the back, for thyself; Ki te keru mataitai, mau tangaengae .To dig for shellfish, for thyself; Me homai tangaengae. Give these ... Hei whakatupu tangaengae. To help growth ... Mo te taiparu nei tangaengae. For this first born girl navel cord.

The girls were also under the influence of Tumatauenga. This incantation did not mention the skills she might need for war activities. She was also expected to sometimes carry firewood, a task usually reserved for slaves. Women were also sometimes paddlers of waka which women often did when they were out line and net fishing.<sup>xxxiii</sup>

### **The Koroingo or Maioha or ‘the greeting of the infant’ ceremony**

The second ceremony Koroingo or Maioha was “the greeting to the infant” ceremony after the iho or cord dropped off, after about 8 days. The highborn mother would sit in the porch of the house with the newborn on her lap and the welcome speeches were made and waiata and pao (chants) were sung which linked the child’s birth to the creation of the universe.

Haramai, e tama! Puritai i te aka matua  
Kia whitirere ake koe ko te kauwae runga, ko te kauwae raro  
Kia tawhai, kia tamaua, kia ita i roto i a Rua-i-te-pukenga,  
A Rua-i-te-horahora, a Rua-i-te-tahanui, a Rua-matua taketake a Tane  
Naumai, e..kia areare o taringa ki te whakarongo  
Ko nga taringa o Rongomai-tahanui, o Rongomai-taha-rangi, o Tupai-whakarongo-  
wananga  
Ka taketake i konei ki tipuaki o Rangi

Welcome, O son! Learn the high teachings;  
Be clear minded, and quick to acquire knowledge of celestial and terrestrial lore.  
Firmly retain the knowledge represented by the various Rua.  
Welcome. Be open-eared to listen,  
as the ears were of the beings named,  
that your thoughts may be with the beings of the uppermost of the twelve heavens

The next lines talk about the food crops, usually those gifted to the child on the day, and the maramataka (calendar) of the crops which were a necessary part of skills the child would need. The parents were congratulated and if it was a first-born boy or girl, then special gifts were given<sup>xxxiv</sup>.

### **The Tohi Rite or the dedication to the atua**

The tohi rite was a dedication ceremony where the parents chose which atua would help the boy in this world, usually Tumatauenga, the god of war, or Rongo, the god of peace and agriculture, or Tangaroa, god of the sea. The baby was taken to a stream and ritually sprinkled with water with a branch of the karamu. The tohunga then recited an incantation “which invoked manly qualities of strength, endurance, and bravery for a male child, skill in domestic crafts for a female...”<sup>xxxv</sup>. The girl was ritually dedicated to Hineteiwaiwa and Tumatauenga and others like Rongo and Haumietiketike. Best<sup>xxxvi</sup> says that the child was named at this ceremony but Buck<sup>xxxvii</sup> says that this was not always the case. Marsden<sup>xxxviii</sup> says that this consecratory act endowed the person with mana.

### **The Pure Rite or confirming the mana.**

The pure rite was invoked to fix the spiritual powers or make mana permanent and was held at the parent’s house. The cloaks and clubs of the family wealth were laid out and the tohunga chanted the ritual chant with mythological references which laid the foundation of knowledge the child was to acquire. The boy was called to enter the tapu sphere of the Supreme Being and learn the higher knowledge contained in the three kete of knowledge.

“Naumai, e mau to ringa ki te kete tuauri, ki te kete tuatea, ki te kete aronui”



Welcome, hold in your hand the knowledge of peace, love and goodness; the knowledge of prayers, incantations, rituals; and the knowledge of war, agriculture, wood and stone and earth work<sup>xxxix</sup>.

Similarly, the girls were exhorted to follow the same paths. After the speeches there was the hakari or celebratory feast.

All of these birth rites bound the child to the whanau and the whanau to the child. The baby was surrounded by positive messages which showed that the parents and whanau knew what they wanted for the baby and their life. The adults, too, were constantly reminded of the special nature of the child. Hineteiwaiwa was thought to be the first woman to become a ruahine, a high ranking woman who removed an excess of tapu. A house could be made safe to live in through this action. <sup>xi</sup>

### **Waiata Oriori.**

Waiata oriori (lullabies) were sung to the babies to reinforce the purpose and the spiritual nature of the child's life. They are beautiful poems, and were composed to build up and mould the child as a useful member of the whanau and hapu, that is, they were a socialising tool. They linked the child to the gods as their spiritual helpers. The child's grandparents or parents usually composed an oriori for the baby. It was sung repeatedly so that all listeners learned it and all knew the whakapapa and qualities of the child and thus, the special treatment they required. They were a poetic and repetitive way to fix personal, whanau and cultural messages in the minds of the listeners.

Some of the lullabies were centred on utu; some instructed in history and geography; and some were to identify other inherited taonga of the child<sup>xii</sup>. What follows is a summary of a selection of six oriori as recorded by Apirana Ngata in *Nga Moteatea* and Elsdon Best in *Te Whare Kohanga* and its Lore.

## Selection of oriori in *Nga Moteatea*.

### 1. *The oriori by Hinekitawhit*<sup>xiii</sup>

This is of the genealogical-geographical waiata. The composer, as a grandmother, tells her granddaughter, Ahuahukiterangi of Te Ariuru, northern Tokomaru Bay, how tapu or special she is.

“Kia tapu hoki koe na Tuariki,e!  
Kia tapu hoki koe na Porouhorea! e!  
Kati nei e noa ko to taina  
Whakaaingi i runga ra he kauwahu ariki e,  
Koi tata iho koe ki nga wahi noa.

May you be set apart, as is fitting for a descendant of Tuariki  
May you be set apart, as is fitting for a descendant of Porouhorea  
Let only your younger relative be free from restriction.  
Soar gracefully on high, O chieftainess,  
And do not descend too near to the common places.

The high ranking grandmother has detailed the treatment her mokopuna must have because of the fame of her tipuna who are named. The girl is exhorted to keep her vision high and remember how special she is. She speaks of the significant maunga (mountains) in their rohe whenua (homelands) from Tokomaru bay to Raukokore, and the associated tipuna of the senior genealogical line of Ngati Porou with whom she would become acquainted should she visit the places named.

From verse 2:

... Ana, e koro! Auaka e whangai ki te umu nui,  
Whangai iho ra ki te umu ki tahaki, hai  
Te ponga matapo hei katamu mahana...

Do not, O sir, give her food from the common earth-oven,

But feed her from the oven reserved for her kind,  
With the dark-fleshed taro, that she may chew with relish ...

Everyone is being told how tapu this girl is and that she must have the best foods available as a mark of her status. The cooks are also being told how and what they are to feed her.

And from verse 4,

Hau te mau mai I nga taonga o Wharawhara, hai  
Tohu ra mohou, koi hengia koe, ko  
Te Paekura ki to taringa, ko Waikanae ki to ringa, hai  
Taputapu mohou, e hine!

You are bedecked with the ornaments of Wharawhara  
To signify that no one may mistake you,  
Te Paekura pendant from your ear, Waikanae in your hand-  
Precious things for you little maid!

The iwi heirlooms are explained to the girl and the fact that she may wear them as is her right. The whole waiata bursts with pride and love as this Kuia wants only the best for her mokopuna. All the listeners also know how and why they are to treat this girl as tapu and accord her respectful behaviour. Later the girl will know that such a special whakapapa meant that she will be expected to marry someone not from 'common places'.

## *2. The oriori to Tu-tere-moana<sup>xliii</sup> a grand nephew of Tu-hoto-ariki*

This has eight long verses. It tells of the child's mana and their turangawaewae. Their whakawhanaungatanga (genealogical links), their wairua (their spiritual links) and their responsibilities were detailed.

Each verse welcomes the baby and each verse refers to a different aspect of their coming life and urges the baby to aspire to the achievements spoken of. This is a ritualistic oriori and has passages from the teachings of the Whare Wananga. It has the lines of descent from the south

of the north island up to the East Coast tribes. It refers to the purakau which, when constantly repeated, will be remembered, as examples to follow.

Nau mai, e tama, kia mihi atu au;  
I haramai ra koe i te kunenga mai o te tangata  
I roto i te ahuru mowai, ka taka te pae o Huaki-pouri;  
Ko te whare hangahanga tena a Tane-nui-a-rangi  
I te one i Kura-waka, i tataia ai te Puhi-ariki ...

“Welcome, O son, let me greet you;  
You have indeed come from the origin of mankind.  
From the cosy haven emerged, out from the barrier of darkness-ajar,  
Out of the abode fashioned by the Renowned-Tane-of-the-heavens  
On the sands at the Crimson Bowl, wherein the Exalted-one rejoiced,..”.

Haramai, e tama, whakaputa i a koe  
ki runga te turanga matua ...  
Haramai, e mau to ringa ki te kete tuauri,  
Ki te kete tuatea, kit e kete aronui ...

Come now, O son, show yourself  
Upon the threshold of your parents' abode ...  
Come, grasp in your hand the kit of sacred knowledge,  
The kit of ancestral knowledge, the kit of life's knowledge ...

Haramai, e tama, i te ara ka takoto i a Tane-matua;  
Kia whakangungua koe nga rakau matarua na Tu-mata-uenga;  
Ko nga rakau tena i patua ai Tini o Whiro i Te Pae-rangi;

Come, O son, upon the pathway of Tane-the-parent;  
To your dedication with the two-edged weapon of Tu-the-war-god,  
Those were the weapons that smote the hordes of Whiro-the-evil-god  
at the barrier-of-the-heavens ...

Haramai, e tama, puritia i te aka matua,  
Kia whitirere ake ko te Kauwae-runga, ko te kauwae-raro,”

Come O son, hold fast to the parental vine,  
And awaken the Celestial-knowledge and Terrestrial-knowledge...

This oriori exhorts the boy to attain the path and deeds of Tane and thereby learn all of the knowledge available, particularly the special knowledge of the Whare Wananga. Geographical features are linked to the distant past. The boy is urged to match and surpass the achievements of his tipuna. In short, the child's mind was to be opened to all possibilities of life, and how he could attain them.

### *3. Nohomaiterangi of Ngati Kahungunu<sup>xiv</sup>*

This sings of the love and concern he has for his two sons which competes with his desire for his boys to take their places as warriors. It is a poignant oriori and full of apprehension of a father's protective love competing with a father's duty to prepare his sons for battle. His tipuna toa have set examples for him.

E tama i whanake i te ata o Pipiri,  
Piki nau ake, e tama,  
Ki tou tini i te rangi.

O son who arose in the winter's morn,  
Ascend and proceed onward, O son,  
To your myriad (kinsmen) in the heavens.

He fears for their lives in the present time of constant battles in Heretaunga (Line 5) and he hopes that they learn well the skills (Line 6) of their illustrious and brave ancestor, Te Whatuiapiti<sup>xiv</sup>, as he doesn't want them to die. 'Taku tamaiti, hohoro te korikori' is a desperate plea that he quickly 'get going' – a fatherly plea to his son to start learning-“My son bestir yourself betimes”.

E puta ranei koe, e tama,

5 I te wa kaikino nei?  
Taku tamaiti, hohoro te korikori;  
Kia tae atu koe ki te wai ahupuke i o tipuna;  
Kia wetea mai ko te topuni tauwhaingā,  
Hei kahu mohou kit e whakarewanga taua.

Will you, O son, survive  
These times of bitter strife?  
My son bestir yourself betimes  
So that you may reach the sacred mountain waters of your ancestors;  
And they will unfasten and present you with the prized dogskin cloak.  
A mantle 'twill be for you in the warriors' ranks.

10 Ko te toroa uta naku i tuatara  
Kite akerautangi;  
Ko te toroa tai naku I kapu mai  
I te huka o te tai;  
Whakangaro ana ki nga tai rutu i."

The plume of the land I have already point fastened  
To this trusty weapon;  
The plume of the sea I did pluck  
From the surging waves;  
It was about to disappear in the stormy seas.

Lines 7 to 14 reveal the father's hope that his sons learn skills well enough to carry out deeds to receive the mantle (the dogskin cloak) and ornaments of warriors (the feathers under the Kaka's wing and feathers from under the wing of the albatross) which he has already gathered, at great effort (in surging waves) and attached to the weapons they will use. Unspoken is the father's desire to do right by his son by giving them the best of everything while worrying about their ability and performance.

Best identifies several oriori in his book *The Whare Kohanga and its Lore* which were considered to be instructions to parents and caregivers. He does not always provide the source or the name of the oriori, nor a translation on the grounds of unknown words and archaic references.

#### *4. Welcome to baby girl.*

One, which Best does not identify, was to a girl baby being “welcomed to the world of light” and her birth, Best says, being compared with Tane’s efforts to bring back the three baskets of knowledge from the heavens to Wharekura<sup>xlvi</sup>.

Nau mai, e hine! Ki te aoturoa a to tipuna a Tane-matua;  
I tiki ai ki roto o matangi-reia i a lo mata ngaro; i roto o Rangiatea e whata ana  
Mauria mai nei ko te kete tuauri, ko te kete tuatea, ko te kete aronui, e hine!

The oriori continues for the next 30 lines, telling the story of Tane and Hinetitama and her descent to Rarohenga. Hinetitama was an excellent example for the girl to follow given Hinetitama’s qualities. The story of the formation of the relevant stars were explained. Best thinks the oriori is inappropriate for a child<sup>xlvii</sup> and so completely misses the point of their composition.

#### *5. The oriori of Tamahau, of Ngati-Hikawera, from the Wai-rarapa district.*

This was composed “in retaliation to some offensive remarks made by a named man ... [with the intent that] his infant [would] square the account”<sup>xlviii</sup>. This type of oriori focused on utu, with the expectation that the son would exact revenge when an adult. Indeed, if the insulter were to die earlier, then the son was to make sure his descendants paid. The repetition of this oriori would make the insult and the utu known to all: the whanau of the offended person and the whanau of the offender

6. In *Po! Po! Po!* <sup>xlix</sup> from *Te Aitanga-A-Mahaki, Ngati Porou* by *Enoka Te Pakaru*.

Te Pakaru was a kaumatua and seer from Turanga. It is an oriori which has 60 lines and was composed for a potiki (youngest child) hence the 'po' repetition. The child is crying and the kaumatua calls for food - not just ordinary food but special tasty foods gathered for a feast. Seafood, kumara and whale, all treasured foods from the tipuna to be chewed by the mother to make them palatable for the baby ("waiu"). This baby is very special.

Pō! Pō! E tangi ana Tama ki te kai māna!  
Waiho me tiki ake ki te Pou-a-hao-kai,  
Hei mā mai te pakake ki uta rā. Hei wai mā Tama!

Baby! Potiki! The boy is crying for food!  
Let it be fetched from the pile of netted seafood,  
And the whale be driven ashore. As mother's food to make milk for the boy!

Kia mauria mai e tō tipuna, e Uenuku! Whakarongo! Ko te kumara ko Pari-nui-te-ra.  
Ka hikimata te tapuae o Tangaroa, Ka whaimata te tapuae o Tangaroa. Tangaroa! Ka haruru!

Let it be brought by your ancestor, the rainbow-god Uenuku! Listen! The kumara is from the Great Cliffs of the Sun.  
The footsteps spell of the sea-god Tangaroa is begun,  
The stamping ritual of Tangaroa is performed.  
Tangaroa! The steps resound!

The child is part of the journey of the kumara to New Zealand because of the tupuna who brought the kumara.



## Analysis of Oriori

These waiata were motivational and inspirational and showed the children what the desired behaviours were. Boys and girls were urged to learn esoteric and practical knowledge. The principle of tapu was primary in these oriori. Children were tapu. The mention of Io and the atua in the oriori indicated the spiritual connection. As a child, these restrictions were not strictly adhered to with other children but adults were always mindful. Tohunga, priests and experts, chiefs and ariki imposed the rules of tapu and maintained them, therefore children were protected by all adults.

Oriori referenced the main goals that were to bring up children to be bold, brave and independent of thought and action within the whanau/hapu. The idea was that when the child was ready, they would ask about any information which signalled the beginning of children's education.

Oriori repeated the glorious deeds of the tipuna, which the child was encouraged to emulate. At times they were instructed to avenge a wrong done to a relative. Features of the child's turangawaewae were always referenced and these were linked to purakau. Adults who were listening, including the parents and whanau members, were reminded who the children were and the whole hapu and iwi were reminded of their whakapapa.

Children of tutua (commoners, free people) and taurekareka (slaves) learned waiata. While the oriori emphasised the attributes of the ariki (highest ranking chiefs) and rangatira (chiefs) classes, the majority were further from the direct chiefly lines. Hopes and aspirations for the children of tutua were expressed in their own whanau with simple celebrations to express their happiness. The children were not treated harshly but joined with the chiefly children in daily life together as whanau. As Buck stated, "[T]hey had no inheritance of mana or tapu and no prospects of power and prestige", but there were exceptions. Many tutua had exceptional skills. Best found that it was sometimes hard to find a commoner<sup>ii</sup>.



## Section 3. Nga Taiwi Tirotiro/The Observers

### Introduction

Europeans have commented on Maori since 1642. These accounts, when examined beyond their own cultural views<sup>iii</sup>, give us snapshots of how parents were socialising their children. After Abel Tasman's confrontation in the South Island and James Cook's travelling around the New Zealand coast, most of the earliest accounts of Maori were in the northern areas. Both Tasman and Cook were searching for prospective colonies. In 1807, John Savage added to observations. Others followed soon after. In their observations, the European methods of raising children with some form of punishment, was evident and they expressed surprise at shared parenting.

### The observations of the tipuna raising children

Earliest observers commented about the loving care given to the babies and children by both parents and indeed all adults. Child prisoners were greatly prized and lived with the whanau but they remained slaves for life<sup>iii</sup>. "The father was devotedly fond of his children and they were his pride and delight"<sup>iv</sup>, wrote Polack, a Jew and a trader for some years. He was an astute observer. He observed, and judged, that the children were over indulged because they, "...are seldom or never punished. They are obstinate, 'beyond belief'; the children try to harm themselves when thwarted".<sup>iv</sup> He considered the children according to his culture and concluded that they, "...needed a severe castigation"<sup>vi</sup>

Edward Shortland said that, "with Maori a parent is seldom seen to chastise his child, especially in families of rank"<sup>vii</sup>. He was told that the, "... freedom given children, made them bold, brave and independent in thought and act ... curbing the will of the child by harsh means was thought to tame his spirit, and to check the free development of his natural bravery"<sup>viii</sup>. The children were tapu and therefore untouchable<sup>ix</sup> so that confidence in themselves and their abilities developed.

In 1772, Captain Crozet of Du Fresne's "Mascarin" observed over two months in the Bay of Islands that the women seemed to be good mothers and showed their affection for their

offspring. He often saw them play with the children, caress them, chew the very tough but starchy aruhe or fern root, pick out the stringy parts, and then take it out of their mouth and put it in to that of their nurslings<sup>lx</sup>.

A number of the earliest observers recorded seeing shared parenting of children: "When the baby boy was weaned, his father took over his care and the mother cared for the girl babies. He generally bore the burden of carrying them continually within his mat, whose rugged texture must be very annoying to the tender infant"<sup>lxi</sup>. Crozet noted that, "Children were suckled until they had teeth and could walk, and their parents carried them around with them or placed them on mats or dog skins on the floor of their houses. Fathers, like mothers, looked after the physical needs of their children"<sup>lxii</sup>, and they were 'excellent nurses'<sup>lxiii</sup>.

Savage, a surgeon who was only in the Bay of Islands in 1807 for a short time described New Zealand as being very suitable for colonising. He noted the transport of children and the provision of playthings for the child<sup>lxiv</sup>,

The mode of carrying the children, if not the most graceful, is certainly not the most inconvenient. The child is placed astride on the shoulder of the nurse, who secures it in this posture by one of its arms; the other being left at liberty, it employs it in playing with the ornaments on the head of its mother; and as these are sometimes numerous, consisting of feathers, shells, buttons, and sharks teeth, the child is provided with an ample source of amusement<sup>lxv</sup>. It is taught to twine its arms round its father's neck; asleep or awake, it remains the whole day thus suspended, protected from the weather by the same mat which covers its parent; and in his longest journeys as well as his most laborious occupations, it is his constant companion.

In the community, helping one another was a fundamental expression of blood kinship and community cooperation<sup>lxvi</sup>. The same cooperation applied to childrearing where there was a shared responsibility of the children especially since the people in one kainga or village were closely related<sup>lxvii</sup>. The young people greatly respected the old people<sup>lxviii</sup>. Grandparents lived with the children as they grew older, and they were rarely treated with harshness.

Each adult had a responsibility to care for all children. The kinship terms describe the generational relationships and their duties to one another. Therefore every child knew everyone in the different roles. Everyone above was a matua (parent) or matua tupuna (grandparent) and everyone in the same generation was a tungane (brother) if you were a girl,

or tuahine (sister) if you were a boy. There were tuakana (older sibling or cousin) and teina (younger sibling or cousin), and below you was your tamaiti (son) or kotiro (daughter) and below them, your mokopuna (grand child), As Royal-Tungane notes, “The tuakana/teina relationship ...operates through the dual nature of ako. Ako means to learn and teach”<sup>lxxix</sup>. So the teacher can become the learner and the learner the teacher. Aroha (love) was the basis of this relationship which reinforced whanaungatanga, the binding of the whanau, hapu.

Physical punishment or reprimand was not an option for the parent. Shortland had observed that, “were he[or she] to do so, one of the uncles would probably interfere to protect his nephew, and seek satisfaction for the injury inflicted on the child by seizing some of the pigs or other property”<sup>lxxx</sup>. Joel Polack stated a fundamental principle of child raising which was that, “a child belongs equally to his distant relatives as to the putative father”<sup>lxxxi</sup>. The whakatauki, “He tangi to te tamariki, he whakamā to te pakeke. When the (impudent) child cries, the elder blushes”, expresses the idea that there may have been the possibility that the child was responding to a negative response from the minder, hence the adult’s embarrassment.

The child was also under the protection of atua which the observers did not recognise. The reports of the father as the constant child carer could describe any male in the father’s generation. Similarly with the ‘mother’ when either blood parent was not available.

Polygamy brought with it many more mothers<sup>lxxii</sup> though most polygamous unions were difficult<sup>lxxiii</sup>. However, where the matua wahine (head wife) ruled the other wives, relations were more peaceful.

The children were, “... robust, lively, and possess, in general, pleasing countenances; their actions are totally unrestrained by clothing, or bandage, until about eight years of age”<sup>lxxiv</sup> which must undoubtedly lay the foundation of their future hardihood and healthy constitution”<sup>lxxv</sup>. Babies, lying with no clothes for short times, with only the parental kakahu to cover them at other times, seemed to grow strong children<sup>lxxvi</sup>. As Polack notes, “The children of either sex at an early age are able to run about long before those belonging to European parents can stand alone. They are early initiated by their parents into all the games, dances, and practices of their fathers... lxxvii and mothers”.

Their whole life was training. Everything they saw and did prepared them for adulthood. Children, boys and girls, had to be prepared for life as warriors, food producers, parents and marital partners in a society based on war as the ultimate sanction for misdeeds. “He toa mahi

kai he toa mau tonu. A brave in battle is occasional. A brave at work is for all times”, was an expression of the roles the child was trained for.

The son of a chief was expected to show his prowess in battle and other sons were expected to become warriors. Girls were included in the games as they were valuable as support, and in fighting itself<sup>lxxxviii</sup>. The children were being trained therefore, to be loving and tender for their whanau in the kainga and hapu and to be fierce and cruel soldiers to others.

There were numerous training games to play and most were competitive and they were an active and fun way to learn. Any whare was used as an assembly-place by youth for games, called a whare tapere and at night. The whare were lighted by one or more fires made in small pits sunk in the floor. On fine summer evenings the marae was a place for youth. All athletic games were kaupara, while the most important were training with military weapons and exercises. The younger children were armed with light reeds which were dodged by agile movements and parrying and developed into heavier missiles. Another favourite exercise was wrestling which the girls joined against the boys.

Different forms of jumping and foot-races over short and long distances called for endurance. A game, ti rakau, consisted of the players tossing light rods from one to another sitting in a square, which called for dexterity and quick sight. Girls and young women as well as boys and youth played these including kapa haka and waiata.

In water exercises there was swimming, surf-riding, jumping, diving and swinging on moari<sup>lxxxix</sup>. They used both plank and small canoes which were called kopapa. Exercises had simple songs or short jingles for each. Waka races (waka hoehoe and whakatere waka) were practice for handling the waka. The game of koruru (jackstones, knucklebones) was popular for dexterity. Dart-throwing contests were sometimes quite large, social gatherings of the people<sup>lxxx</sup>. All of these games helped train the children in necessary skills while having the vital attraction of fun.

The fathers took their children everywhere with them. They went to the public assemblies, and even on their military expeditions<sup>lxxx</sup>. Hongi Hika's 13 year old son acquired more mana as he had shot a man in battle<sup>lxxxii</sup>. Samuel Marsden and John Nicholas, who travelled with Marsden, and Polack among others, observed that, “the sons of chiefs were often seen, at the age of four or five years, sitting among the chiefs, and paying the closest attention to what was said<sup>lxxxiii</sup>”.

“They also ask questions in the most numerously attended assemblies of chiefs, who answer them with an air of respect<sup>lxxxiv</sup>.

These kaumatua were acknowledging that the children were under the atua, that they came from those who had gone before and were forebears of the ones to come. They knew that they were teaching the children. Here was the tuakana and teina relationship operating with tupuna matua, matua, tamariki and mokopuna. The children listened to and learned about dispute resolutions of varied issues (from perceived insults, theft, transgressions of all kinds and others).

At Paroa Bay, Nicholas and the crew were very pleased with the activity and steadiness of the two boys who had accompanied them because: “they shewed considerably more judgment in the management of the net than we could have expected from lads of so early an age; and they evinced, in other respects, a shrewd intelligence, far beyond the compass of their years”<sup>lxxxv</sup>. “[Y]oung urchins, who have scarcely the power to walk,[were] steering large canoes without aid” which Polack called “heedless treatment” on the part of the parents and adults, but admitted that this “renders the children very hardy, morally and physically; so that a little native boy is half a man when a European child is first placed at school”<sup>lxxxvi</sup>.

All facets of life were open to the tamariki<sup>lxxxvii</sup>. They knew and accepted the social ranking and the duties and practices that went with those. They knew the ranking of their fathers and their mothers and expected behaviours and privileges associated with those ranks. Children were treated as family members and the children all played and ate together<sup>lxxxviii</sup> and learned everything together. Some slaves were able to become chiefs<sup>lxxxix</sup>, and their skills enabled them to break out of slavery<sup>xc</sup>. Samuel Marsden commented that most chiefs treated the women, children and slaves with kindness<sup>xc</sup>. A kuki owned a piece of ground in independent tenure<sup>xcii</sup>. By the 1830’s, treatment of slaves had improved overall<sup>xciii</sup> particularly where chiefs were close to missionaries<sup>xciv</sup>.

Domestic abuse was reported but not as a common practice. One of the earliest reported incidents was in Queen Charlotte Sounds, in 1773. Forster, the ship’s naturalist, wrote that a child “desired his mother to give him a piece of broiled ‘Penguin’ and as she did not immediately comply and refused to do it, he threw a large stone at her, whereupon she beat the child, but her husband beat her unmercifully for it”<sup>xcv</sup>. The French in 1772, thought that the men made the

women do all the heavy work but there was little casual violence<sup>xvii</sup>. Ill feeling amongst some wives meant that the babies may have been surrounded by negativity.

### **Earliest observed child rearing practices**

The most observed practice was shared and loving parenting by the parents. There was little reference to whanau members sharing parenting. The observers did not know the relationships clearly. They assumed that the adult carers were parents. The 'fathers' were very patient with the little ones smiling at misdemeanours. The named chiefs noted by them did introduce their sons, but other men and their children may have been uncles and grandparents. Thus 'the child is the child of the tribe' was a principal belief.

The next practice was that punishment-physical, verbal and emotional-was not used to train children. Shortland was told that *mu* could eventuate should a child be punished in any way. And the *whakatauki* of a crying child causing embarrassment supports this principle.

Having a team of relatives as carers for children meant that they could be passed on to someone else as a distraction for an unreasonable or unsafe demand. This also meant that there were many people watching caregivers as a further way to ensure care for the children. *Tuakana* siblings/cousins were an unmentioned minder relationship in the earliest observations. Given mention of this relationship in *Te Kahui Mana Ririki* workshops by many older people, *tuakana* were not as lenient as the adults were. Their rule was more firm and absolute.

Keeping children busy was an important rule, then as now, even little ones were 'piggy backed' or 'pikau' and enjoyed an assortment of objects to play with. There were many activities for children and youth-the range of games mentioned, fishing, snaring birds, forest food harvesting and helping in the garden. Little children had to be closely supervised. There were many recipes for healing burns, besides broken bones and grazes and cuts that may indicate accidents.

The child, furious at being thwarted, was in a rage, Polack observed. He was not hit but he does not say what happened to him. What this does show is that it was not easy raising a strong willed and confident child.



## **Section 4. Kaupapa/Methodology.**

### **Tikanga Whakatipu Ririki/The Maori Parenting Model**

#### **A Maori model of practice**

A number of kaupapa Maori models have been developed in health and social services over the last few decades.

Te Kahui Mana Ririki was established as the result of the three day Maori Child Abuse Summit held during November, 2007. The summit was preceded by the repeal of Section 59 of the Crimes Act and the death of Nia Glassie. Nia's death focused the nation's attention on child abuse and on Maori child abuse. The Summit was a response to the outpouring of public grief that followed.

The over-arching goal was, and is, the elimination of Maori child abuse. Te Kahui believes that one of the most effective ways we can work towards this goal is to support whanau to transition to positive parenting. The positive parenting movement in New Zealand has been driven by a core of dedicated proponents who are predominantly Pakeha. Te Kahui has worked with people like Beth Wood, and then in 22 workshops throughout New Zealand from Whangarei to Invercargill. These were attended by 260 health and family workers and all participated in the development of the material that is relevant to Maori parents and children.

The model – Tikanga Whakatipu Ririki – is the result of this work. It is underpinned by kaupapa Maori and the etymology of Maori words. This model has been developed by Strategy Manager, Helen Harte.

## Tikanga Whakatipu Ririki

The model is strengths-based and has three parts:

1. The goals of parenting
2. The beliefs of parenting
3. The parenting techniques

### 1. The goals of parenting

The precedent for this parenting model is the knowledge the parents must work out and that is to know what it is they want their children to be. In traditional times the birthing ceremonies and the waiata oriori clearly gave the parents goals for their children. The oriori were usually composed by the grandparents, so the aspirations and motivation for the children contained therein, had the function of informing the parents also, and all adults listening. In the place of those poetic masterpieces, there are three beliefs which parents can comprehend. These are basically that children should always keep the qualities of being children all their lives. These will only remain apparent if they are reinforced constantly by adults close to them.

The ihi, the wehi, the wana encapsulate the beliefs we have of children. This delight and awe and love of being alive are what remain undamaged when children are raised without abuse of any kind. Te ihi, te wehi, te wana are usually heard in speeches on the marae. These concepts have been applied to children. Ihi is a vital psychic choice, or a personal essence. Wehi is the awe, respect or wonder in children which they should never lose. Wana is the thrill, exhilaration, and excitement which describes the child's love of life.

Kia mau i a ratou te ihi	They hold the delight of life
Kia mau i a ratou te wehi	They hold the awe of life
Kia mau i a ratou te wana	They hold the love of life

These help give direction and commitment to child rearing. They speak of wonderment and love. We want children to hold these values all their lives. It is these values that the tipuna wanted to preserve with their child rearing.

## **2. The Beliefs of parenting**

Te Kahui Mana Ririki research has shown that the pre-contact socialisation methods of children were based on philosophical beliefs which begin in the spiritual world. All Maori whakapapa to lo Matua and nga atua. This relationship meant that, for children, they were ata ahua- they were the face of lo, of the supreme being. Children therefore were perfect underneath everything. This belief was what stopped any maltreatment of the child. To harm the child was to harm the atua. For the religious parents, this concept is easier to accept than for non-religious people.

Fundamentally, the child was considered tapu, the more closely and directly he or she was linked to the atua. The child represented the atua, the tipuna who have gone before and the children who are to come. This meant that the kaumatua treated them with respect and consideration. This concept of the child being special, is one which is basic to child rearing and can be applied now. This child is tapu. He or she is special and is to be treated with consideration. Parents have to learn this. These spiritual aspects give the child mana, their own prestige and power. They are accorded respect because of this.

An important part of children parents must realise, is that they are wairua-two streams. They are both male and female which means that parents should realise the balance within each child-the warrior and the nurturer for both girls and boys.

What children need is aroha. This is not just hugs and kisses but a total commitment to the child. Children do need to know that the parent is there for them whatever happens.

They need turangawaewae, to trust in their home that it is safe and known. Just like the tipuna tamariki, who believed that they would not be harmed whatever they did, children now need to believe this. They must know and trust everyone in their home.

They need hinengaro which is the mind. It is here that conflicts can be solved without violence. If violent solutions are used, it is hard to learn non-violent ways.

All of these beliefs have to be learned by parents so that they see their children in a different way.

Ririki are ataahua	Children are perfect. They are the face of God. Ata or atua is a reflection or a god. Ahua is aspect or nature. Babies are perfect and they are still perfect when they are children. Parents are introduced to the idea that their children are perfect, that they are inherently 'good'.
Ririki are wairua.	Children are spirit. Wai is water or stream. Rua means two. Children are spirit. They are both male and female. Both sides need developing to be in balance. The female in the boys need to be evident and the male in the girls. Boys do have a tender and nurturing side and girls have a strong and directional side.
Ririki are tapu.	Tapu is special, sacred. Children are special because they are from the ones who have gone before, the tipuna, and they are the parents of the ones to come. They are sacred because they whakapapa to the atua, the gods.
Ririki have mana.	Children have status and power. Respect them. Children have their own power. They are the face of god; they are wairua and they are tapu. This gives them mana.
Ririki need aroha.	Children need love. They need adults who are committed to them. Aroha is love and it is commitment. This is vital to children. They need love and they need adults who will commit to them totally and always.
Ririki need turangawaewae.	Children need to belong. They must trust their whanau and friends. Turangawaewae is a place to stand; a home. A child needs a secure place where they know everyone and feels safe. Turangawaewae also has whakapapa and Whanaungatanga; family relationships and connections. Turangawaewae encompasses all these needs in children.
Ririki need hinengaro.	Hinengaro is the mind; all processes of the mind where problems are solved and conflicts are resolved. If tamariki are shown violent solutions, they will find it hard to learn non-violent methods.

### 3. The Parenting Techniques.

Once the beliefs are practised, there are techniques which parents can use to help achieve the socialisation of children without the help of a large, committed whanau grouping of old contained in a kainga. The way to go about achieving these values are by using these child raising techniques which help both parents and children work towards agreed behaviours.

Kauaka Stop	Feeling uptight? Take a breath. Take ten! Kia marino. Calm yourself down. Stop/kauaka is the first step for parents to take when a child is doing something which they don't want the child to do. Control your desire to shout or say something nasty.
Haere Go	Getting angry? Going to lose it? Haere! Walk away.
Kia whakaware Distract	Don't like what they're doing? Distract them with another activity.
Whakarongo Listen	Tune in. Think of them. Listening is the key to working out what is happening.
Explain Kia Marama	Talking quietly really helps. Negotiate - Whiriwhiria. Help them weigh their behaviour.
Te papa/ Mutunga Consequences	Quiet time - waahi whakataa. Time out - waahi nohopuku. Take away a privilege - unuhia te taonga
E aro ke Ignore	Don't sweat the small stuff. Are they safe? Not hurting anyone else? Let it go!
Whakamihia Praise	Help them to be good. Smile. Praise: pai (good), reka (choice, great, well done), tumeke (great!)
Kia ngahau Enjoy	Make it fun. Use songs, games and toys to teach your child.

## **Review conclusion.**

This model has been drawn from Maori whakapapa. It has a Maori kaupapa. It has evolved out of the workshops that have been described above as Maori thought for Maori parents to raise their children in ways linked more to the best of our past than to the worst of it. The model is a way for parents to determine their own children's lives to be loving, confident and successful- delighting in life, respecting life and loving life. Others are not precluded from using it and adapting it to their situations as we, as Maori and New Zealanders, have adapted others tools and methods.

## Endnotes

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<sup>i</sup> Walker R Ibid 1992 p 173

<sup>ii</sup> Royal, Te Ahukaramu, *The Woven Universe. Selected writings of Rev. Miori Marsden*. Otaki: Estate of Rev. Maori Marsden, 2003. xiii

<sup>iii</sup> Henare, Manuka. 'Document A86'. *Report on the Crown's Foreshore and Seabed Policy*. Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, 2010. Paragraphs 13, 31, 32, 106.

<sup>iv</sup> Shortland, Edward. *Maori Religion and Mythology*. London. Longmans, Green and Co., 1882. 156. There are also numerous examples in Elsdon Best. *Maori Religion and Mythology Part 1 Hong Kong. Museum Bulletin No. 10*. 1995.

<sup>v</sup> Smith, Linda. *Decolonising Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* Dunedin: Otago Univ Press, NZ. 1999: "Family organization, child rearing, political and spiritual life, work and social activities were all disordered by a colonial system which positioned its own women as the property of men whose roles were primarily domestic". 46.

<sup>vi</sup> Grace, Patricia. *Wahine Toa*. Auckland: Collins, 1994; Smith, *Decolonising Methodologies* 46; Henare, Manuka, Petrie Hazel, Puckey Adrienne. *He Whenua Rangatira: Northern Tribal Landscape Overview (Hokianga, Whangaroa, Bay of Islands, Whangarei, Mahurangi and Gulf Islands) Part II*, Crown Forest Rental Trust, 2009. 232-267, 510.

<sup>vii</sup> See Royal, *The Woven Universe* 180 for the diagram of the whakapapa.

<sup>viii</sup> Best, *Maori Religion* 75,76. See also Hiroa, Te Rangi (Sir Peter Buck). *The Coming of the Maori*. Wellington: Whitcombe and Tombs Ltd, 1949. 439, p445, pp454-464.

<sup>ix</sup> Henare et al, *He Whenua Rangatira* 236.

<sup>x</sup> Smith S.P, *The Lore of The Whare Wananga Part I*. New Plymouth: Thomas Avery Printer, 1913. 117.

<sup>xi</sup> Best, *Maori Religion* 1995 81.

<sup>xii</sup> White, John. *The Ancient History of the Maori, His Mythology and Traditions: Horo-uta or Taki-timu Migration. Volume 1*. Wellington: Government Printer, 1887. 20.

<sup>xiii</sup> Best, *Maori Religion* 1995 87.

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<sup>xiv</sup> Best E. 1992. p22

<sup>xv</sup> White, *Ancient History* 51. Reed, A. W. *Treasury of Maori Treasury*. Auckland: A. W. Reed, 1963. 24.

White, *Ancient History* 44: A translation of the chant. Tutu te kiri, wehewehe (wewehi) te kiri, Tatara-moa te kiri, onga-onga te kiri. Kei mihi ki te ipu (ipo) kei tangi ki te tau. Tanga-roa whatia (wetea). Tanga-roa tara; Tara ki (kia) mamao. Anga tonu koe ki tai, e, ki tai e, Whati, ko koe kei mihi, Ko koe kei aroha, Kei mihi ki te ipu (ipo) kei tangi ki te tau.

<sup>xvi</sup> Hiroa, *Coming of the Maori* 450, 451; Best, *Maori Religion* 119,120; Reed, *Treasury* 40, 41,42; Edward Shortland, *Maori Religion and Mythology*. Christchurch: Capper Press, 1980. 20,21. These writers have lists of female beings already created presumably at the same time as the male beings.

<sup>xvii</sup> Shortland E. op cit. 1956. p20

<sup>xviii</sup> Jenkins, Kuni. *Reflections on the status of Maori Women* Unpublished paper, Auckland, 1986.

<sup>xix</sup> Reed *Treasury* 115.

<sup>xx</sup> Grey, George. *Legends of Aotearoa*. Hamilton: Silver Fern Books Limited, 1988. 15. It is a pity Grey messed with the original reo.

<sup>xxi</sup> Grey, *Legends of Aotearoa* 23-24.

<sup>xxii</sup> Grey G, *op cit.* 1856 p 94

<sup>xxiii</sup> She is also known as Hinekahu.

<sup>xxiv</sup> Salmond, A. *Two Worlds. First meetings between Maori and Europeans 1642-1772*. Auckland: Viking, 1991. 148.

<sup>xxv</sup> Salmond, *Two Worlds* 210.

<sup>xxvi</sup> Best Elsdon. *The Lore of the Whare Kohanga*. Wellington: Dominion Museum, 1973. 12.

<sup>xxvii</sup> Henare, *He Whenua Rangatira* 246. Namely Ngapuhi and Ngati Porou.

<sup>xxviii</sup> Grey, *Legends of Aotearoa* 12.

<sup>xxix</sup> Henare, Manuka. WAI 1040 B#3. *The Paparahi o Te Raki Inquiry. In the matter of Waitangi Act 1975 Waitangi Tribunal*. 2010. 21.

<sup>xxx</sup> Best *Maori Religion* 12-13.



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- <sup>xxx</sup>i Henare, *He Whenua Rangatira* 237.
- <sup>xxx</sup>ii Hiroa, *Coming of the Maori* 494-495.
- <sup>xxx</sup>iii Houghton *First New Zealanders* p118 cited in Belich, James. *Making Peoples*. Auckland: Penguin, 1996. p100, 103. Also They paddled war waka (Henare, *He Whenua Rangatira* 247.
- <sup>xxx</sup>iv Best, Elsdon. *The Whare Kohanga and its Lore*. Wellington: A. R. Shearer, Government Printer, 1975. 22.
- <sup>xxx</sup>v Hiroa, *Coming of the Maori* 352.
- <sup>xxx</sup>vi Best, *The Whare Kohanga* 28.
- <sup>xxx</sup>vii Hiroa, *Coming of the Maori* 353.
- <sup>xxx</sup>viii Royal, *The Woven Universe* 124-5.
- <sup>xxx</sup>ix Hiroa, *Coming of the Maori*.
- <sup>x</sup>i Henare *He Whenua Rangatira* 238.
- <sup>x</sup>ii Ngata A T, Pei Te Hurinui Jones, ed. *Nga Moteatea I*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2004. Xxv.
- <sup>x</sup>iii Ngata and Jones *Nga Moteatea* 2-7.
- <sup>x</sup>iiii Ngata, A. T. and Pei Te Hurinui Jones. *Nga Moteatea. The Songs. Part Three*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2005. 2-19.
- <sup>x</sup>lv Ngata *Nga Moteatea* 130-133.
- <sup>x</sup>lvi Ngata *Nga Moteatea* 131.
- <sup>x</sup>lvii Best, *Whare Kohanga* 51.
- <sup>x</sup>lviii Best *Whare Kohanga* 51.
- <sup>x</sup>lix Best, *Whare Kohanga* 52.
- <sup>x</sup>lxx Ngata, A. T. and Pei Te Hurinui Jones. *Nga Moteatea. The Songs. Part Two*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2005. 216-227.
- <sup>l</sup> Hiroa, *Coming of the Maori* 350.
- <sup>li</sup> Best, Elsdon. *The Maori as He Was*. Wellington: Government Printer, 1952. 340.

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- <sup>lii</sup> Smith, *Decolonising Methodologies* 28.
- <sup>liii</sup> Hiroa, *Coming of the Maori* 351, 401-2.
- <sup>liv</sup> Polack J. *New Zealand being a narrative of travels and adventures during a residence in that country between, the years 1831 and 1837*. London, 1840. 37.
- <sup>lv</sup> Polack, *New Zealand* 57, 377, 378.
- <sup>lvi</sup> Polack, *New Zealand* 57, 377, 378
- <sup>lvii</sup> Shortland, *Maori Religion* 156
- <sup>lviii</sup> Shortland, *Maori Religion* 156.
- <sup>lix</sup> This is expressed in the oriori.
- <sup>lx</sup> Salmond, *Two Worlds* 422.
- <sup>lxi</sup> Polack, *New Zealand* 374; Other writers recorded similar incidents. Savage, J. *Some account of New Zealand : particularly the Bay of Islands, and surrounding country : with a description of the religion and government, language, arts, manufactures, manners, and customs of the natives, &c.* Originally 1807. Dunedin: Hocken Library, University of Otago, 1966. 28; Craik, George L. *The New Zealanders*. London: C. Knight, 1830. 386.
- <sup>lxii</sup> Crozet in Salmond, *Two Worlds* 422.
- <sup>lxiii</sup> Nicholas, J. L. *Narrative of a voyage to New Zealand, performed in the years 1814 and 1815, in company with the Rev. Samuel Marsden, Principal Chaplain of New South Wales*. London: Printed for James Black and Son, 1817. 307-308.
- <sup>lxiv</sup> Craik *The New Zealanders* 386.
- <sup>lxv</sup> Savage, *Some account of New Zealand* 45.
- <sup>lxvi</sup> Hiroa, *Coming of the Maori* 375.
- <sup>lxvii</sup> Hiroa, *Coming of the Maori* 334-336.
- <sup>lxviii</sup> Salmond, *Two Worlds* 422.
- <sup>lix</sup> Royal-Tangaere, A. *Maori Human Development Theory in Mai I Rangiatea*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1997. 45-59.

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<sup>lxx</sup> Shortland *Maori Religion* 156.

<sup>lxxi</sup> Polack *New Zealand* 57.

<sup>lxxii</sup> Elder J.S. ed. *The letters and journals of Samuel Marsden, 1765-1838 senior chaplain in the colony of New South Wales and Superintendent of the Mission of the Church Missionary Society in New Zealand*. Dunedin: Coulls, Somerville Wilkie, Ltd. and A.H. Reed for the Otago University Council, 1932. 97. Chief Tiarria /Tarea had 10 wives. Te Pahi of Rangihoua had 4 sisters as wives and several concubines. He was nearly paralytic when Cruise saw him in 1824! Cruise, Richard. *A Journal of a Ten Months Residence in New Zealand*, London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green, 1824. 272.

<sup>lxxiii</sup> Elder, *Samuel Marsden* 113.

<sup>lxxiv</sup> Savage, John. *Some account of New Zealand : particularly the Bay of Islands, and surrounding country: with a description of the religion and government, language, arts, manufactures, manners, and customs of the natives, &c. &c.* Originally 1807. Dunedin: Hocken Library, University of Otago, 1966. 53.

<sup>lxxv</sup> Savage, *Some account* 45.

<sup>lxxvi</sup> Elder, *Samuel Marsden* 118.

<sup>lxxvii</sup> Polack, *New Zealand* 372-374.

<sup>lxxviii</sup> Henare, *He Whenua Rangatira* 268.

<sup>lxxix</sup> Moari are giant swings usually out over water.

<sup>lxxx</sup> Best E, op cit. 130-132; Hiroa, *Coming of the Maori* 238-251.

<sup>lxxxii</sup> Nicholas *Narrative of a voyage* 158

<sup>lxxxiii</sup> Craik G, op cit.1850 p391

<sup>lxxxiv</sup> Elder, *Samuel Marsden* 175.

<sup>lxxxv</sup> Polack *New Zealand* 379.

<sup>lxxxvi</sup> Nicholas, *Narrative of a voyage* 28.

<sup>lxxxvii</sup> Polack, *New Zealand* 377.

<sup>lxxxviii</sup> Polack, *New Zealand* 378.

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<sup>lxxxviii</sup> Cruise, *A Journal* 42. Cruise reported slaves being sacrificial victims as a contrast to the slaves treated as family.

<sup>lxxxix</sup> Ballara A. *Warfare and Government in Ngapuhi tribal society: 1814-1839*, MA Thesis, University of Auckland, 1981. 284. As cited in Henare, *He Whenua Rangatira* 268.

<sup>xc</sup> Evidence of Piri Teira Whirinaki Counter case No. 7, 24 November 1885, Northern Minute Book 7, p277. DB70. cited in Henare M et al, op cit. 2009. p268. Earle A, op cit. 1827. p138-9.

<sup>xc1</sup> Elder, *Samuel Marsden* 128.

<sup>xcii</sup> Nicholas, *Narrative of a voyage* 290.

<sup>xciii</sup> Yate, William. *An account of New Zealand and of the formation and progress of the Church Missionary Society's mission in the Northern Island*. London: R.B. Seeley and W. Burnside, 1835. 121.

<sup>xciv</sup> Ballara, Angela. *Taua. 'Musket Wars', 'land wars' or tikanga? Warfare in Maori Society in the Early Nineteenth Century*. Auckland: Penguin Books, 2003. 426, 427. Te Rauparaha killed a slave for a hakari in 1839 while in the same year, his younger kinsman, Te Hiko, was paying slaves for their work. Traditions were changing.

<sup>xcv</sup> Forster J.R. op cit. 1779. p258

<sup>xcvi</sup> Salmond, *Two Worlds* 422-423.

<sup>xcvi</sup> Salmond, *Two Worlds* 422-423.

<sup>xcvi</sup> Laracy Hugh, 'The French Connection' in *New Zealand Listener* February 27-March 5, 2010. 22-25.

<sup>xcvi</sup> Laracy, *The French Connection* 24.

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